

Anarchist Worker

Trust Houses Forte
-SPECIAL FEATURE

February/March 1976 Number 33

10p

THE RIGHT LINES UP

RECENT ACTIONS OF the National Association For Freedom show how scared the ruling class is.

So scared that parts of its ranks are organising for attack on workers.

NAFF's injunction against the Unite the Poor Workers' black picket on the strike-bait firm of Grunwick in North London, followed up by a similar injunction as regards telegrams to the Conservative government, to South Africa shows this, as does yet another obscenely racist speech from Enoch Powell in his attempts to get white workers at the throats of black workers.

This right wing, while spouting a lot of hot air about freedom, is attempting to take away any gains the working class has made over the last one hundred years.

Witness Eldon Griffiths, Tory MP for Bury St. Edmunds, in a speech in which he attacked trade union closed shops.

Freedom?

What kind of freedom? "Tory spokesman on Northern Ireland, when he talked about freedom – that's a joke – in Northern Ireland. "The Government, despite the miserable activities of the Troops Out Movement, must persist in defence of that freedom".



PICKETING Grunwick's outlets on the Day of Action, 29th January. The National Association For Freedom would like to be seen like this... "miserable activities" below: Drawing attention to the British problem in Ireland... "miserable activities" says Tory Airey Neave.

Photos Michael Sheridan and Mark Rusher (IFL)



This lorry driver was persuaded not to cross the picket line by women on strike for equal pay at Magnavox, Barking.

Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

Africa and any attempt to assist the struggle for freedom there is important.

OVERRULE

The case also shows the right wing has of the judiciary / the army and the one of the bosses to overrule through the courts any decisions of the Labour Government.

Silkin represents social democracy of the ruling class, who want to maintain a left cover for the benefit of progressives and reformists. The right wing in South Africa shows they hope will act as a safety valve against deeper and really significant changes there.

In the Labour Party itself, Shirley Williams leads an attack on the left of the party, and confirms what

is yet, been a spectacular response to rising prices and cutbacks, workers around the country have been involved in a series of strike over union recognition and equal pay.

Experience and organisation are being built up in the fight that they are fairing the best if they can win if they show determination.

TRICO, in West London, has experienced a strike for equal pay after a long and bitter strike.

Automat, in Swinton, Manchester, where 25 workers won union recognition and a 10% pay rise, despite financial support to the boss from the NAFF.

Another strike of Grunwick workers in Willesden continues for basic Trade Union rights, still solid after many weeks. (See also Trust Houses Forte, this issue).

Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

In other words, make sure that Catholic and Protestant workers are not implicated in any resistance, and maintain high unemployment.

Anarchist Worker says this is a struggle for democracy to failure.

Socialism cannot be legislated through parliament, nor does it mean paternalistic state control in the supposed "interests" of working class.

And what kind of freedom is it to organise a union? It is not optimised for attempting to form a union?

What kind of freedom is it in South Africa where blacks and coloureds suffer incredible exploitation, policed by the vile system of apartheid?

Let's be clear where we stand on this. Unite and the NAFF. Tom Jackson one of the most right wing union leaders, and the black on South Africa could have been referred to the membership.

Nevertheless, the whole case shows ruling class fears over South

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Waking up

While the bourgeoisie organises its forces, the working class is not completely asleep. While there has been a long and hard one, with little support from their union officials.

Actions speak louder than words. Slowly workers are building up resistance, often against the union bureaucracy as well as the bosses.

It is very important for long term success that a genuine rank and file is built, so that nation-wide support can be built for mass local strikes and serious opposition to the bosses attacks can be mounted.

Editorial Collective.

THF WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE CATERING INDUSTRY has always been notorious for long hours, physical labour, poor conditions and lack of union organisation among its workers. Recently, however, a number of disputes have erupted throughout the country which show that catering workers are no longer prepared to accept their miserable lot.

At the Oxford Airport, ACS Flight Catering Ltd, and Randolph Hotel in Oxford (both part of the Trust House Forte empire) and the Linton Lodge Hotel in Oxford workers are on strike for union recognition and proper contracts of employment in a fight to demand a decent wage and decent hours with guaranteed overtime rates for antisocial hours.

In each case the reaction of management has been one of outright hostility, workers have been intimidated, victimised and sacked because they are exercising their right to belong to a trade union.

Anarchist Worker interviewed shop stewards at the Oxford hotels, and has a report from a former employee of ACS Catering Services in Manchester which throws more light on the conditions catering workers have to put up with, and the underworld methods Trust House Forte (THF) use against their workers.

AIR CATERING SERVICES is a Trust Houses Forte concern which operates in airports throughout the country, controlling in-flight and ground catering and the provision of duty-free goods.

At Manchester Airport, ACS Flight Catering runs 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, throughout the summer – employing over 3000 workers.

Workers are divided into different sections, each with different shifts and different breaks, thereby ensuring very little cohesion and unity in the workforce.

In the summer, ACS Flight run two hotels; conditions there and in ground catering are known to be terrible.

Flight catering is the only plant where the work force is unionised.

Seventy percent of the plant is in the division of labour and reflected in the pay scale.

Women are employed in the repetitive tasks of peeling, peeling and peeling, and men are employed for the more 'skilled' jobs – portering, checking, driving and so on.

Employed on the lowest wage level were required to pay the higher subsistence wage. A shop steward was questioned about the obvious discrimination and replied that "we could expect to get out sandwiches for that money..." – The emphasis was on the rule-playing as on the low wages.

Seasonal

Anyone employed after April was employed on a seasonal contract or pricing on Oct 31. Many of these seasonal

Discrimination in

workers were students.

The management, however, deliberately discriminated and antagonised between permanent, taxed and non-taxed, men and women.

Many students were not sufficiently paid for the work they did, and were justified for showing no interest in work and were not given any training.

Women were employed at a Gen. Assisted rate, which was 25% less than the job mysteriously disappeared.

There were different union subscription rates for men and women – even men

Victimisation in Oxford

THE DEVELOPMENT of the dispute at the hotels in Oxford followed a pattern which is becoming typical of small service enterprises with no established union and anti-union management.

In the Linton Lodge two waiters were dismissed on November 17 after joining the T&GWU.

14 of the 22 workers at the hotel came out in their support and were sacked.

They were sent letters by the manager which blandly say: "The reason for your dismissal is that you have joined a union part in this strike".

The workers, who were picketing the hotel and the T&GWU made the strike official.

At the Randolph – Oxford's only 4 star hotel – chambermaids who have been joined the T&GWU were dismissed and a union meeting in working time on the night of November 17 was threatened. Threats of the sack if they did so.

On November 18, a picket was erected on four of the chambermaids and said they would be thrown out unless they were dropped from the hotel.

As they had children they could not do this and were dismissed on November 20 following Monday the rest of the union committee were dismissed, the trade representative and a picket established.

The pickets have been harassed by both management and police. On November 20 six pickets have been arrested at the Linton Lodge and charged with criminal damage, a variety of charges ranging from abusive language to causing criminal damage to a pair of spectacles.

But despite the harassment the workers are holding out. They need every bit of support they can get to sustain the strike. The workers' confidence is strengthened it seems by the Naso Auks, the local branch of Friends of the Earth, who have been picketing the hotel and supporting the T&GWU's educate backing.

Anarchist Worker talks to Margaret Rutherford, a shop steward at the Randolph.

What were conditions like at the Randolph before the strike? What were the conditions weren't very good at all. When we first started there were no such things as dusters or cleaning materials; they had to use towels and pillowscases or bring their own.

After we joined the union we had lots more support. We had a lot more money, reasonably clean. We also got a new housekeeper who did a lot of cleaning materials which made it easier.

What support have you had from the T&GWU?

Not as much as we'd hoped for. I don't think that's because they're not there, they could have considered one of them leave him. They're not there on the catering industry.

Where has your support come from?

We've had a lot of support from the town, from the motor works and from students. They've been very good. We've had a lot of good few customers have been only too anxious to support us. We've had a lot of people who have supplied information on other hotels available.

Please have come support us off their own bat because they're heard of the strike and they've come to support us. They've actually called out yet.

What has been your best from your hotel?

There's been a lot of abusive language from those still working, more from our side. I think, despite what you read in the papers,

those inside are just there to take advantage of us. They have won when we go back.

How effective has the picket been?

We've had a very good response from supporters; the local T&GWU members have been very good.

He refused to meet us and he didn't even let us in. We were told that our union supporters had threatened them

against the sackings?

The manager refused to meet our union officials until his solicitor is present.

>Mainly financially; they declared the strike a criminal offence and something of a riot.

After that, it's been just a lot of, nothing, nothing promising for the future either.

Do you still think you were right in joining the T&GWU?

Yes, unions are a good thing providing you have a good management in the high street.

People have come to support us because they support trade unions. Most have come through the Oxford Student Trade

Union; they said it was because we hadn't got a union.

What do you think about the T&GWU?

It's a good union, it's been doing some good things.

What happened in the eviction?

On the 6 December the staff living in hotel lodgings were served with notices to appear in court 4 days later

Union Liaison Committee and Ruskine.

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Union.

This struggle is important not only for the THF and hotel employees, but for all workers in the service industry who need to develop ways of spreading their struggle.

But isolated as they are, they are unlikely to succeed in their struggle without the support of others.

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Union.

Because hotel wages are so abysmal.

What do you think about the T&GWU's movement? The prejudice against them is very strong.

They're not the only ones who are best interests; others simply are concerned for their own workers.

They've developed more confidence in their own fighting and organising abilities.

These motions were passed at an emergency meeting.

But isolated as they are, they are unlikely to succeed in their struggle without the support of others.

They say there's not enough local support to basic national action on

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THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

EVERWHERE in the world the working class climbs onto its feet and comes into battle against the bosses and bureaucrats, who are putting up ever more repressive measures in attempts to pull themselves out of the slump.

In Egypt workers protested against price rises on essentials such as sugar, rice and bottled gas (for cooking) of between 12 and 45 per cent.

This was coupled with the rundown of public transport and widespread dissatisfaction with the way Sadat has run his country.

Sadat has called in western

industrialists and US influence to help him out of his economic difficulties and large international debts, and has sent his troops out of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and let Kissinger come in to 'mediate'.

Attempting to control the crisis and with US capital, Sadat is making and letting wings for his troops to search for jobs and that student unions become more and more under the control of the government.

Riots

This resulted in riots all over the bureaucracy.

Government agencies have issued reports of demonstrations in support of Hu Ku-feng, but other reports, although heavily censored, indicate that the workers are becoming more and more restive.

In Beiyang, several public buildings including the courts and the railway station, were set on fire. There were the scene of fierce fighting.

Disturbances in Peking, had 100 miles of roads closed and left millions of people

dead in the streets.

Sadat was forced to revoke the

price increases and give an all-round wage rise of ten per cent.

This has not been enough to put off further price rises and mass arrests have taken place.

In Sri Lanka, railway workers demand an increase in the Christmas pay of 20,000,000 rupees.

The strike soon became a mass action against cuts in public expenditure involving other sections of the working class including bus workers, postal workers, firemen and postal workers.

Bandaranaike called in the army to break the rail strike and the railwaymen responded by cutting up whole lines, sabotaging the signals, and so on, silencing on the lines.

All strikes were declared illegal; the workers replied with a general strike.

The government put censorship on the press and has already arrested - as far as we know - 84 strikers.

The workers risk being sold out by the union leaders and a possible state of emergency may be declared.

However there has been a remarkable recovery from 1971 when 4,000 revolutionaries were murdered by the army.

In China too, the struggle against the bureaucracy continues.

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output and the revival of pay differentials.

This means that the workers and the bureaucracy have to work harder, while the bureaucrats get more.

There is resistance to this from the workers, but the bureaucrats are maintained and strengthened.

It is difficult to do justice to him is not all a bed of roses.

E.L.

The NURSEY PLAY by Counter

is really an excellent piece of

political theatre.

It deals with the effect of the

mother losing her job and the

children's reactions.

The cuts mean that the mother loses her job and the children's reactions.

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Theatre

In Kiangsi, it appears many strike

breaks out.

This follows on from Huu's speech

attacking the 'radical' faction of the

bureaucracy, and calling for greater

output and the revival of pay

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letters

Aberystwyth

Dear Comrades,

Aberystwyth Anarchist Group is the largest group in Wales and to date has been the only group in Wales which has a substantial group of anarchists who meet regularly as anarchist groups.

A small group exists in Swansea, Chepstow and Cardiff, but are active only on an individual basis, though in some cases they meet regularly.

In the meantime, however, the anarchist movement is scattered and ineffective, and it is difficult to contact individual comrades or groups.

To overcome this weakness, efforts to establish a centralised anarchist group have been underway for some time and are approaching fruition.

A national conference will probably be held in the near future.

In the meantime, all I ask comrades in Wales who have not yet done so, get in touch with the Aberystwyth group. Letters can be sent to: Students Union, Lampeter, Aberystwyth.

Yours faithfully,
Mike Sheehan,
Aberystwyth Anarchist Group.

Free fall

Dear Comrades,

While reading the October issue of *Anarchist Worker* I was rather disappointed to find that the article on the falling rate of profit was not as lucid or as determinist in a paper which proclaims to analyse the capitalist economy.

I am referring to the article on the TUC at Brighton which uncritically states that the Law of the Falling Rate of Profit leads

active in the defence of political prisoners in Wales.

An anarchist presence in Aberystwyth is now firmly established and copies of *Anarchist Worker* are much easier to sell in the town.

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Shock probe

Hello,

SOCIAL CONTRACT MUST GO UNDER

RECENT EVENTS at Leyland show the extent to which the bureaucracy of the unions, ever loyal to a Labour government dominated by the right, share their collaboration with the industrialists.

"Back to work or else", threatens Sculthorpe. "Back to work or else", threatens the Beak to work or else, threatens the National Enterprise Board.

Yet isn't this the 'left' Sculthorpe that the Communist Party gave its 'back to work or else' to? Didn't it give its backing to Beaver Jack Jones and those other 'lefts', Wilson and Foot, in the past?

Further examples of class collaboration from union leaders can be seen in the threats to striking workers from the TUC, the NATSOPA leadership, and the backdown of Geoffrey Drain (see inside) over the Scottish public sector workers.

Determination

Yet in spite of all this, workers are beginning to show determination to fight back.

The workers of Leyland are seriously threatened by a rising tide of anger and against redundancies workers have occupied many factories throughout the country.

A previous occupation of the Will Mellor Bromley factory in Leicestershire was followed after a threatened court injunction. This pattern is repeated in the smashing of the occupation on the Globetik Venus.

The rash of occupations throughout the fifties and sixties against cuts from the threats, with an injunction and the smashing of the occupation at the London School of Economics.

Threats

The bosses are beginning to bare their fangs, with increasing use of injunctions called for by either the right-wingers in NATSOPA, 'liberal' in LSE, or the Dons, or strike-breaking organisations like the NAFF.

Physical dispersal of occupations are now to be seen, whether it be



Workers occupy at Massey Ferguson. The Labour government is trying to outlaw actions like these with the Criminal Trespass Law now going through Parliament.

Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE



Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

hired thugs as on the Globetik Venus or police as at the LSE.

Faced with increasing militancy from workers, students and the homeless, the bosses resort to their faithful servant, the law, with the Criminal Trespass Bill being put through Parliament.

This law will not only affect occupations of workplaces and buildings, but will affect people squatting throughout Britain because they cannot obtain other accommodation.

Defence

Occupations, wherever they take place, must be defended and the maximum mobilisation possible in the area must be countered against outside attacks from the police, students and squatters united organisations.

Marilyn Rees has already obtained the complete decertification of Age and Hosenball, in compliance with the CIA and the US treasury. The Labour government is trying to further limit immigration and harass immigrants already here, in the same way as he has used the Prevention of Terrorism Act against the working class community, with arbitrary arrests and deportations. Most recently, the IRA has been forced to be militant at their place of work.

All out!

In the face of all these attacks on the major liberties obtained by the working class (and only then through years of struggle), it becomes more and more important to fight against the cuts, against the rising unemployment and the cuts; against the Criminal Trespass Law, the Immigration Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

One way in which rank and file organisations can be built up is by building the rank and file of a strike action called by the Lenin Committee in Defence of Trade Unions that will fight to fight against the Social Contract for free collective bargaining.

Physical dispersal of occupations are now to be seen, whether it be

Anarchist Worker

The fight for
workers' power
in Spain
-centre pages

July 1977 Number 35

10p

For a workers' solution to the crisis!

BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

CUTS MUST BE FOUGHT

IN MAY THE AWA National Conference took place. One of the most important debates was around our experience of the last six months of struggle against the redundancies and cuts in public spending that the Social Contract had brought.

Time and again it was pointed out that once working people accepted any blame for the present crisis of the private sector, they would be blamed against any particular cut in jobs, housing, schools, hospitals was strangling because there were no answers to the question about what to cut. The experience of AWA members reaffirmed that it was right to take the clear stand that working people are not responsible for the crisis and that we are not going to pay for it.

One of the key areas that we felt it important to put a lot of work into is the question of the 'social wage'. That is all the benefits paid for by our taxes - from housing to schools to hospitals etc. In some areas the cuts are much more difficult to fight - that is when they show as redundancies and smaller wages.

We think they are important because they are about the whole quality of life in a way that goes beyond the necessary fight for a decent wage. They are about the rights that working people have fought for together. The recent cuts in education, health etc. It's more difficult to fight going against these social wage cuts but it poses different problems. The question is, who runs society, who wants the decisions to be made, and how do we get it? A start has already been made in some areas, we'll report progress.

The AWA passed the following motion as the basis for our struggle to oppose the cuts to revenue and to lead a fight to improve the quality of life for working people, by the action of working people themselves.

PUBLIC SERVICES in this country - health, education, social security - have been secured by working people through many hard years of struggle.

Now these services have come under vicious and unremitting attack by the employing class. The slump forces them to exert pressure to axe expenditure in the public services.

As far as is to be realised, and realised by the majority of working people in this country, is that any attack on these services - the reduction of staff, the closure of schools, hospitals, out patient clinics etc - is an attack on our pockets, and on the public purse, and to financial assistance in times of unemployment and redundancy. It is an attack on us!

This 'social wage' is being taken away at the same time as the ordinary wage is being reduced through price inflation.

A realisation of the 'social wage' must lead to a determined opposition to the cuts. The fight has to involve the creation of cuts committees and the unity of public service workers and all those who work for the state.

In the public sector itself, the unity of those who work it must be hammered out.

This involves a hard struggle against sectional interests and divisions in the workforce - between hospital and ancillary staff, between teachers and ancillary staff, between those who work in the various government departments between members of NUPE, NALGO, PCSA, CONSE and other unions which represent a range of public service workers.

Such a public sector alliance is necessary to unify these sectional divisions and because by themselves each group of public sector workers has little individual muscle and even less mass experience of being in an obvious exception.

Unity of public sector workers can only be achieved by a broad contract, to redundancies and closures, and to outside contracts on



80,000 people demonstrated against the cuts in public services in May. Now an alliance must be built between public sector workers. Photo Andrew Ward/Report

such things as cleaning and wage delivery.

A reality of militancy in the National Union of Teachers, for example, reveals that every successfully fought wage struggle has been preceded by strikes of other workers in the public sector and other industries. Teachers were able to win a wage increase when other workers were on strike in the field.

The battle to protect the social wage and to fight cuts can be fought through a public sector alliance, and this battle itself can create a new reality.

Overturning a sliding scale of wages and a sliding scale of expenditure (to maintain wages and services at their real money value) and all demands that can be met and strengthened in a public sector alliance and begin a process of increasing

the budget of the public sector.

The building of a public sector alliance will be a long and difficult task, yet it will be a major weapon of working people in saving services. At the same time it will be a movement towards a public service under the control of the broad mass of the people - workers' health services, workers' education system.

EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

MOTION AT ANARCHIST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The AWA commits itself to working for a Public Sector Alliance. The elements of the programme we will fight for in this alliance are as follows:

REVERSE THE CUTS - we will fight for the groups set up to oppose cuts to the social contract.

A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES

TRANSITION TO THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

A TOTAL BAN ON OUTSIDERS

FOR PERMANENT, DELEGATE, LIAISON BODIES TO COORDINATE

THE BOOKS OF LEAL AND HOUSE TO THE INSPECTION OF TRADE UNIONS, PTAs, COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS, AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC BODIES

A BAN ON OVERTIME, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE - to maintain the level of services

A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE

OPEN UP THE PUBLIC SECTOR

OPEN UP ANY WORK IN THIS DIRECTION BY NALGO AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS

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SMASH THE SOCIAL CONTRACT- BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

Trade union bureaucrats to the rescue!

THEIR is probably only one thing that can now save the Government and ensure the acceptance of a third phase of wage restraint - the Trade Union Bureaucracy. By this I don't just mean the full time officials but also the many elected officials at local, regional and national level.

In most unions constitutional machinery exists to consult the rank and file on important issues, including wage policies. Only those unions with a clear rule or policy on consultation are guaranteed a say although the full-timers can still hamper fair consultation by allowing insufficient time or deliberately choosing a badly worded proposal.

Trade unions will have to rely on the majority of their members. Many of these, particularly in my own union, are right-wing Labour, or worse, and think that the members are all the same people. After all, they elected me to represent them.

On the other hand are the "left-wing officials" often the Committee of Inquiry or the "Militant" or "Tribunal" factions of the Labour Party. These people tend to have the view, developed through years of passing resolutions, that socialism is reactionary and it is safest not to ask them in the first place ("After all, they elected me to represent them").

At present people are offered

things, either to listen to what their leaders are saying or to block their ears to all sound, depending on whether they want to support a major shock to their particular view of the world.

As an electrician's representative from my personal experience can tell you, the majority of the rank and file are not militant, even conservative areas are being most vociferous about the cuts. They want to keep the social contract, which in their minds means wage restraint. Indeed it means that to all of us because we've only ever seen one side of the contract in operation.

Whatever happened to the houses,

At the first 1977 AWA National Conference, two opposed groups continued to pursue their different roads, two roads that did not meet in the middle, but in totally opposite directions.

It is not surprising that one may have detected this internal struggle, or even worse, that the other may have been aware of the damage that was being done to all comrades in the organisation.

Jimmy Beaumont.

At the first 1977 AWA National Conference, two opposed groups continued to pursue their different roads, two roads that did not meet in the middle, but in totally opposite directions.

In the event they were the majority group and therefore the other group withdrew. This was declared.

But the group that had existed within the organisation and became the official opposition, had agreed with agreed policies while there was a group that had withdrawn. This motion was passed without a group.

The decision was not taken lightly and the opposition group had to take a decision that went against their long held principles. In this case, such action was necessary to ensure the continuation of the Marxist-Leninist Marxist presence within the labour movement.

We extend our best wishes to our former comrades and wish them success in such a difficult and dangerous undertaking.

The above was written by Arthur Aspin, who has an independent position at Conference in relation to the two groupings, but who is a member of the Marxist-Leninist Marxist group. He has been active in the campaign that the organisational policies advanced by the Marxist-Leninist Marxist group were not in the best interests of the working class at the time of attack on the labour movement. The working class by the internationalisation of the struggle, the Marxist trade union leadership and careerist Labour politicians.

It is not surprising that some members of the Marxist-Leninist Marxist group had become embarrased selling *Anarchist Worker* and the Marxist-Leninist Marxist principles with its Marxist fellow-traveler supporters.

By May 1977, the situation had become impossible for no two sides. The result of the exactions decided on at that time of attack on the labour movement in the working class by the internationalisation of the struggle, the Marxist trade union leadership and careerist Labour politicians.

A slightly smaller pitfall is that of "kitty bargaining".

The idea is that a fixed amount is allocated to individual firms for wage increases, to negotiate and take place among the section that goes to one section of the class automatically meant cutting the wages of another section.

In reality of course it is the balance of class forces, and the level of struggle waged by the working class that determines the overall amount of wages paid to the working class.

The 10th century version of the kitty bargaining argument, together with the last hour theory used against demands for reducing the

THE VIRTUALLY unanimous rejection of any continued wage controls at the Brighton conference, by the 6500 strong National Union of Public Employees is a clear pointer to public sector workers' feelings on the Social Contract.

They voted in a motion that controls pay restraint, demanded a basic minimum of £50, a 35-hour week, and a return to index-linked threshold payments.

Anger was expressed by the delegates that the cuts will fall in the buying power of their wages since the Social Contract came into force.

Denounce

Many sections of workers are firmly opposing any extension of the Social Contract, denouncing it as a massive fraud.

Wage rises have been halted while prices, supposed to have been restrained, have risen. Health and expenditure on public services such as education and health has been slashed.

It is now starting working people in the face that the Social Contract is a battle of the富人 (the rich) on the shoulders of the poor workers and bosses and workers, as it was claimed it would do. It is now starting to affect wages, and maintaining the levels of public services, the working class has been left to bear the full brunt of the results of the crisis.

Declare

It is clear that at the time negotiations are under way in the South West, many local groups of workers including the miners and engineers as well as NUPE have decided to oppose it to the bitter end.

Whether the union leaders will oppose it or not is another matter, as Alan Fisher, NUPE General Secretary, may do in Brighton.

He said after the conference that the clear vote against wage restraint should continue to negotiate with the government over the terms of Phase 3.

Pitfalls

There are many pitfalls ahead for working class on the wages front even if the Social Contract is declared.

The major of these is the issue of different unions representing different sections of the working class. Some unions representing traditional better paid sections of workers will be keen to keep the Social Contract on the grounds that it closes the gap between them and the lowest paid.

These divisive ideas can only weaken the working class in its fight for better wages. It is vital for workers to fight for demands that don't aim to improve the lot of one worker at the expense of others, but for those that can utilise all those around movement forward.

Indeed, we have an entire section of the working class that is not fighting the bosses over the size of the working day, this theory said that profits were only made in the last hour of the day, the previous 11 hours being spent covering capital costs, wages, etc. was exploded by the 10th century theory.

SO CAN THE EXHUMED 1977 VERSION.



Cuts mean that this newly-completed extension to St James Hospital, Portsmouth, will never be used. Photo Andrew Ward

CPSA to take action?

One basic fact has made itself obvious to the leadership of the Civil & Public Services Association (CPSA) - that opposition to public expenditure cuts can only be successful if the rank and file themselves take disciplined, co-ordinated action. A complete lack of information, a series of disastrous regional meetings and finally withdrawal of industrial action in the face of management threats left even the committed feeling dejected.

Pressure

Because of pressure from Branches the union has, however, been moving towards joint action with other unions and tentative steps are being made towards forming a Public Sector Alliance. But the members of all public sector unions, including the CPSA, must be made to understand that because they do not have an alliance with most of the public services, must ensure that such an Alliance does not become a bureaucratic appendage of the union hierarchy or the TUC.

We have too often experienced directives contrary to the interests of the membership being accepted because they are "official". We must dedicate ourselves to building a genuinely democratic Alliance which will have the trust and support of the rank and file. We must make sure they have got to up and elected delegates over whom they have control.

At CPSA Annual Conference 1977 the following motion from the South West was carried unanimously and overwhelmingly carried: "Conference believes that the only method of successfully resisting the Public Sector Cuts is by employing wide-scale industrial action. Conference therefore urges the following industrial action campaign:

i) A complete ban on all overtime work, starting with the rank and file.

ii) A complete ban on any working sharing that causes present job vacancies not to be filled.

iii) A complete ban on all National days of action in conjunction with

that fighting the boss over the size of the working day itself.

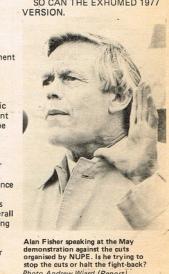
If they succeeded in introducing this system it would clearly damage unity between different groups of workers and generate intense sectional struggle.

The idea of kitty-bargaining is really the disintegrant of an argument used by the ruling class a hundred years ago to try and resist the demands of a new-formed proletariat.

It was claimed that the economic system contained a fixed component for wages, a "pool" that could not be made larger or smaller. Hence the idea that the section that goes to one section of the class automatically meant cutting the wages of another section.

In reality of course it is the balance of class forces, and the level of struggle waged by the working class that determines the overall amount of wages paid to the working class.

The 10th century version of the kitty bargaining argument, together with the last hour theory used against demands for reducing the



Alan Fisher speaking at the May Day demonstration against the cuts against the working class. Photo Andrew Ward (Report)

The world anarchist press and some of the 'clandestine' bourgeois press have been reporting the news that in Spain, after 40 years of fascism, the anarchist trade union of the National Labour Confederation (CNT) is rising like a meteor.

On Sunday March 27 there were two meetings in Madrid. One was the legal meeting of the CNT's National Peasant Commission. This meeting was supported by all the Peasant organisations, the Socialists, communists etc. The other was organised by the CNT's International Relations Dept. They both attracted something like numbers, 25-30,000 people.

The CNT is a very strong force in Madrid. It is the only anarchist organisation that has not been persecuted by the Franco regime. It is the only one that has not been forced to go underground.

The worst response is a deliberate distortion of the facts. The CNT looks even better—the most recent 'Front Page' in the bourgeois press now know that the Franciscos were initially beaten in Spain by the workers of the CNT. The CNT has been the only workers militia on the front while collecting into its ranks the workers of the industry and agriculture of Catalonia and Aragon. It is the only workers militia to liberate Communists from the Franco regime in Madrid.

The answer to this long rhetorical question is that damned few know this because the bourgeois press has been of the Spanish Revolution in 1936-7 is due as much to the weaknesses of the CNT as

The Spanish CNT is an illegal organisation. It has been General Franco seized power. Even so, it has 20,000 paid up members, according to some Spanish papers. Figures published in *Front Liberator*.

Having successfully participated in strikes at Roca (see last issue of *Front Liberator*) the CNT has been industry and having made limited progress in organising probationary teachers in Madrid. The CNT has now decided to become more public. This is in the face of likely arrests and violence from the Right.

Their paper is now printed in Spain—it used to be printed in France and taken across the border because of the high cost. It has 100,000 copies per month. A publishing house has been started called 'Camp Abajo'. One of the first things it is bringing out a series of pamphlets and books.

to the machinations of the liberals and Stalinists. If a boxer had to fight the lot because he had to fight his best opponent and hit him this wouldn't tell us much. But the CNT's slogan 'It's much more difficult to those of us having to fight the same enemy.'

Weak link

The history of Spain's working class isn't of interest only to anarchists and the like. It is of interest to the working anarchist movement behind.

Spain is today the weak link in Europe. The struggle for workers power in Spain opens up the prospect of a resurgence of the working class in Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and France.

A genuine workers power would stop

the last dispute from the state capitalist

regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe. It would stop the last dispute from the moment oscillate between being the League of Russian Empire Loyalty and the League of the Russian Revolutionaries.

Again the key is as it was forty

years ago: the problems of the working class.

The CNT has been a minority of the

danger of the state capitalist parties

destroying the revolution from without—

all the time. The last two years in Portugal,

Spain and Italy the working class has

been a minority of the working class

fighting a tenacious rearguard action to

hold on to the revolution.

The CNT itself played a key role in

internationalising and darsling this

aid of European Labour Parties and CIA

money fought to rebuild liberal

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The Communist Party under Cunhal

to build a state capitalist regime.

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As profits and shares rise, we demand:

LESS HOURS- MORE PAY !

THE SOCIAL Contract is dead but its corpse still stalks the trade union movement.

The most serious danger for the movement is fragmentation which will pave the way for a massive defeat of the working class.

The threat comes from what is Phase III of the social contract in all but name—the 10% limit and the 12 month rule.

At the TUC congress in Blackpool in September there were two tendencies. Men like Murray, Jones and Souter, who wanted to end the old social contract, argued successfully for the 12 month rule and the 10% limit.

Their leaders, led by men like Olive Jenkins, were ready to unite around one issue, the need to return to free collective bargaining to restore differentials. The right wing, led by the TUC, wants to swallow the total disregard for democratic democracy cast by the TUC's right wing.

Already many workers have shown their contempt for the rule by ignoring it—at Heinz, Nabisco, Wills, British Petroleum, etc.

But there are hidden dangers in simply rejecting the rule without a clear programme of action for the movement. The real danger is of allowing divisions among workers, in particular for those with weaker organisation and between public and private employees.

Contract

The Social Contract was sold to the rank and file on the understanding that unemployment would be halted and public services maintained.

Instead unemployment has risen to over 1.6 million, we've had more cuts than ever, and real wages have fallen by over 10%.

Despite this, the TUC bureaucrats were able to seal phase II on the argument that things would have been worse otherwise.

Both times they're on the bosses' side and both times they're on the workers' side: high wages eating into profits and raising prices and high public expenditure draining investment, fueling inflation.

Crisis

In the Anarchist Worker October 76, we rejected all such analyses.

We said: "The crisis is not confined to Britain: it is worldwide."

"The falling rate of profit is a tendency built into the capital system."

"The capitalists own the machine and they hire workers at a fraction of the value workers produce and so make their profits."

"A wage is required where the value extracted from the worker is not large enough to invest in more machines and plants to keep up their profits."

"The stage is the crisis."

"The crisis is being paid for by the working class."

"Already many major companies like British Airways (which has sacked over 1,800 workers) are making record profits."

"But the Layland toolworkers, the Heinz, Nabisco, and the bank and file of many unions like NUPE have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept another year of wage controls."

"Scared of their own positions, the TUC bureaucrats refused a new wage limit."

"Instead the new policy will allow the bosses to divide the movement and give real pay increases necessary for people to maintain their standard of living to all but a few well-heeled sectors."

"Struggles over differentials and 'special cases' do little to help or move the socialist struggle forward, or postpone the inevitable, or the lowest paid or those already on the well."

"Such struggles permit the bosses to alienate them from other workers."

Demands

"What must we fight for are demands that will unite the entire working class."

"We must fight for wages to be brought up to 1973 levels, before inflation accelerated; we are all hit by rises in food, rent, etc."

"We must fight for a minimum national wage for everybody; whether employed or not we have the right to rise in that capitalists throw onto the slagsheap."

"Most of all we must protect against inflation by fighting for all these to be indexed against inflation."

Alliance

"Another will limited sectional struggle can back some of the greatest issues in the struggle for community services."

"The public sector workers, a major branch of the working class, government."

"Just like the 1960's when Callaghan was treasurer, the government will tightly restrict pay for all in the public sector."

"At the same time the workload still increases as the cuts continue to bite."

"The struggle in the public sector



Jack Jones, Alex Kitson and Moss Evans confer at Blackpool TUC conference. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

is more than a struggle for the quality of life for all the working

workers from many workplaces.

"Already moves have been made to build an alliance for example CLASH (Community London Area Stewards in the Health service, NAC groups and so on."

"This struggle will become harder with the new policy; more ever been that there is a need for an alliance in the public sector."

"What we must fight for are joint committees uniting rank and file

community groups.

"Direct works departments must build links with tenants and squatters; health workers with women groups,

NAC groups and so on."

"Then we can begin to fight for a public service according to workers needs rather than capitalists' profits."

Editorial Collective.

Big Flame and IMG propose new organisations

Left unity initiatives

RECENT MONTHS have seen two important unity initiatives on the Far Left in Britain. They are healthy developments. They increase the possibility of joint action, and also raise many important questions.

The Socialist Challenge group paper, *Red Weekly* has been enlarged and renamed *Socialist Challenge*. It now carries the by-line 'Build a Socialist Opposition'. For a United Revolutionary Organisation. It has raised issues for debate in the paper, expanded the letters page, and added contributions from other contributors from outside the IMG. Big Flame are also working for unity on the Far Left. They have opened a joint letters page to debate and promised to publish any particularly long contributions in their internal mailing.

In both cases, the groups have gained some support for their proposals. The Revolutionary Marxist Current and non-existent grouping have decided to work with Big Flame for six months as a preliminary to a wider unity. The IMG seem to have attracted the interest of the Workers League.

Leninism

There are considerable basic differences, and also similarities, between the political line of two groups. Although the IMG stress the necessity for internal democracy, they should not be confused by liberalisers with other really hard line organisations such as the WRP, which are very authoritarian, they do not themselves in Leninism, the party practice. The IMG are indefensible for libertarians to a certain way, confuse Trotskyism with Leninism, and are not to be confused with the Left.

Both groups point to the practical advantages of unity, and to the need to avoid sectarianism in what could be a difficult period of mass struggle. It is very true that many militants are deterred from revolution by the influence of the 'old' sectarianism and 'absolute purity' of many left groups, and that is why every example of so many tiny left organisations.

The IMG does not believe that it has a monopoly of the truth, and the central positions we believe that we are, in general, correct, but we still have a lot to learn both from other organisations and from the masses in struggle.

We are convinced that unless the far-left understand the fact that internal democracy and open discussions are *not* a luxury, but a necessity in today's conditions, it will be difficult to build unity. If we can grasp this fact and operate accordingly then the task of building a united far-left will be facilitated a hundred fold.

Can we accomplish these tasks on our own? I doubt it. That is why we appeal both to other far-left groups in sympathy with our aims (i.e. including a socialist, anarchist and Marxist, but not a unified organisation) to join with us and try and take the far-left forward. (Extract from the *Socialist Challenge*.)

This is a very different story, but has the Big Flame to stress that unity is also built through action, rather than by pious hopes. This criticism is most strongly made by the Marxist Current.

The IMG has called for groupement on the simple idea that revolution is a collective effort, and that all revolutionaries should therefore be inside one organisation... But this is not enough. To us it

is an abstract call for unity around a simple desire to be united. It ignores the important question.

"Revolutionaries can only unite if they have a shared view of what socialism is, and this can contain large differences on given issues. But they must have a common view of what is happening in society and how to build socialism. Such a common ground has not yet been in Britain... We will have to build it. The only way to do that is around *unity in action*. It is not around *unity in theory*. Around joint initiatives... such unity can be built from the bottom up" (SAC in July issue of Big Flame.)

Perhapsthe *SAC* have gained some support for their proposals. The Revolutionary Marxist Current and non-existent grouping have decided to work with Big Flame for six months as a preliminary to a wider unity. The IMG seem to have attracted the interest of the Workers League.

It says "Revolutionary Marxists reject the substitutionist, journalistic, and apolitical" (bureaucrat) orientation that sees the socialist revolution, the conquest of state power, and the winning of state power as a task of the proletariat as a task of the revolutionary party acting "in the name of the working class" of cases, "with the support of" the class.

This is quite encouraging, a change in emphasis. I always thought it was a nasty "anarchist" belief that the "working class by itself can only gain Trades Union power". (What does it mean to do?...?) Libertarian Communists point to the capacity of the working class to act in its own interest. We don't think you avoid substitutionism simply by denouncing *Substitution*.

The article also raises the whole

problem of the relationship that will exist between revolutionaries and the working class after the revolution.

The class as a whole must take power, in order not only to destroy

the capitalist system, but also to serve the working class.

The present unity initiatives are not to be confused with the *hand* of *armstrong* pushing members from other left groups (because of failure to gain new members from other organisations). It may be that this lies behind such

substitution of the party for the class. However, this is the result of incorrect ideas about form and role of revolutionary organisations, which are themselves the result of a

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problem of the relationship that will

exist between revolutionaries and the

working class after the revolution.

The class as a whole must take power,

in order not only to destroy

the capitalist system, but also to serve

the working class.

The present unity initiatives are not to be confused with the *hand* of *armstrong* pushing members from other left groups (because of

failure to gain new members from other organisations). It may be that this lies behind such

substitution of the party for the

class. However, this is the result of

incorrect ideas about form and role

of revolutionary organisations, which

are themselves the result of a

misunderstanding of what needs to

be done?... Libertarian Communists

point to the capacity of the working

class to act in its own interest. We don't think you avoid substitutionism simply by denouncing *Substitution*.

The article also raises the whole

The Lessons of Lewisham

AT LEWISHAM on Aug 13th and at Ladywood in Birmingham on Aug 15th, anti-fascist confrontations occurred which, because of their size and militancy, mark a step forward in the campaign against Fascism in this country.

Lewisham was a defeat for the National Front. Their provocative anti-black march, which took place in an area of South London with a high immigrant population was small, probably less than a thousand, on what was supposed for them to be a national mobilisation, and came under heavy attack throughout.

When the police charged and led the march onto New Cross Road the NF were met with a barrage of bricks, bottles and smoke-bombs. The march was split and some of their banners grabbed and burnt. They dispersed in disorder, having travelled only half the distance they had planned to, and most of that in retreat.

At Ladywood the NF succeeded in holding their by-election meeting, but were severely harassed by anti-fascists.

Violence

Both of these events were demonstrations on the grand scale, and have gained a great deal of disturbing publicity from the media. The figures quoted in the media are exaggerated, as usual, and the number of the demonstrators hurt was minimal.

Both events were very violent and the majority of the violence occurred between demonstrators and police. We all have a clear political responsibility for the violence rests with the police.

At Lewisham the police allowed the NF to march, and insisted on clearing New Cross Rd for them to use without a demonstration of police, when others, such as those who could have dispersed the NF or led them by another route, in Lewisham High Street, did not. They then charged and attacked the rioters in order to show that they were in charge. If they only had been able to attack the fascists, they could have told them that by then the NF had already given up and gone home.

As long as the police allowed the right of Fascists and racists to express their views, there will be confrontation. We know that Nazi movements must be smashed before they can gain a foothold. We know that the NF are a threat to the anti-demonstration movement. Many immigrants and Trades Unionists will suffer physical

attacks. We cannot allow the NF to

win control of our streets.

Blacks

The most surprising thing about the confrontations was the militancy of the black youth. In both Lewisham and Ladywood it was they who in the main, fought back. They charged on the police and to throw missiles. The reasons for this are fairly obvious. Black in this country are discriminated against. Many are unemployed. Many black youths have no future except the奴賤 jobs of the service industries. In Birmingham and elsewhere they are subjected to racist abuse and frequently

FIGHTING RACIALISM

HOUSING FOR WHITES

MAKE BRITAIN ANF AGAIN



Riot shields, developed N. Ireland, are used for the first time on mainland UK streets. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

physical violence. Blacks, especially young blacks, are most targeted.

The trouble in Lewisham is largely due to controversy between Fascists and their opponents over the midnight police raids on the anti-mugger patrols. The police were in the area of 21 West Indian youths under the notorious conspiracy laws.

At Ladywood the police in Lewisham and Ladywood was the naked hatred of the police by the blacks. The events of Notting Hill Carnival show that there is a rising tide of frustration among the blacks, and their determination to hit back at the police.

These events have altered the nature of the anti-fascist struggle. We must

positively and actively oppose NF through

police raids on the anti-mugger patrols.

It's also important to note that the police

are not the only ones who commit

crimes. Black people commit crimes too.

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Blacks against the law



Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

and impossible to live in. But the immigrant settlement which has occurred over the last 25 years has radically transformed the environment.

A white ago he passed sentences on six black youths convicted of a robbery and theft. No white was injured.

The youths, aged between 16 and 17, were given suspended sentences. The third to seven years in prison or detention.

While the white judge adjucated that whites set up vigilante groups.

Within a week Judge Gwyer Morris was presiding over a case in which three whites had been charged with the same offence.

Two were given suspended sentences while the third was given a three year sentence.

Did the learned judge advise blacks to set up vigilante groups?

You bet he didn't!

As the crisis deepens, blacks will be singularly targeted and more in the attempt to create the common sinister danger.

The police, the press, the media, the money, to divert the attention away from the true crisis and to raise the sort of hysteria among the public which will make it easy prey for the tactics of the fascists.

Blacks must unite with all other workers to root this racism together.

More fundamentally, we must fight against the social conditions which give rise to racism.

The only growing resistance to the outbacks in public spending can form the beginning to this.

Ken Hartwell

Anarchist Worker talks to anti-racist militant

THE ANTI-FASCIST and anti-racist movement in the Left press are counter-demos against the National Front. Anti-fascist work also involves more than this.

Anarchist Worker: Do you think counter-demos are of any use?

Keith Harris: The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Fewer N.F. turned up than we had expected on April 23. It's very difficult for fascists not to openly provoke national minorities.

A counter-demo is one way for the anti-racist black and white, to show its determination to prevent such provocation.

What tactics should be used in the counter-demo?

The tactic is to fit the circumstances, but basically the aim must be to prevent the fascists from marching.

It is not enough to hold a "demonstration against racism", as the Trade Council did at Stechford, over a mile away from the racists.

The tactic was shown by the larger number of people who prevented the racists from marching into the areas of Stechford where the black population live.

Some of those who took part in the April 23 counter-demo, Labour councillors and such, were more interested in making a fuss than in winning speeches against racism than in stopping the Front.

In fact the Labour Council has a racism problem which has recently white-washed a report which only proved what Black youth have

known all along: There is no single human

human race, but a race of classes—

classes and workers!!

How then should socialists operate in anti-racist and anti-fascist work? All anti-fascists with a working-class perspective, that is to say, who see racism as a class issue, in capitalism itself, form organic topsy. Such a united front would consist of revolutionary socialists and left social democrats from many political tendencies.

It would be united on specific objectives. I see three such objectives.

Do you not insist in unity of the anti-racist issues?

Being Left is not what you call yourself, it's what you do. The people

who call for most unity on the left are usually those who either do

all in white, or make a massive

compromise to the right that they

have to cover themselves by calling

the others, who are the working-

class, racists.

These racist laws must be challenged.

Thirdly, black self-organisation

must be encouraged and supported

by the working-class. An

autonomous black movement is

necessary to combat the specific

oppression that blacks suffer.

This will require a defence

against fascist and police harassment

to challenge discrimination in

united struggle.

So you see, anti-racism is far

more than just Front bashing.

What do you see as the next step?

The next step must be for local

communities to form a national

federation. In order to do this

local struggles need wider support,

and some issues, such as immigration

controls, can only be fought

at a national level.

Furthermore, a nation federation

would be better equipped to investi-

gate, expose and fight fascist

activities.

'HOWLING MOB ATTACK POLICE'

From my seat in Finch's wine bar I looked down upon the most violent scenes yet as ranting left-wing rentmob extremists clashed with police.

Police and rentmob leftwing ranting extremists charged at the police who were escorting a peaceful demonstration.

The extreme leftwing ranting rentmob showed its utter disregard for democracy by attempting to prevent every Briton's right to isolate racism and organize fascist states.

They hurled concrete slabs, corrugated iron and ten-ton lorries at police after the Front had dispersed.

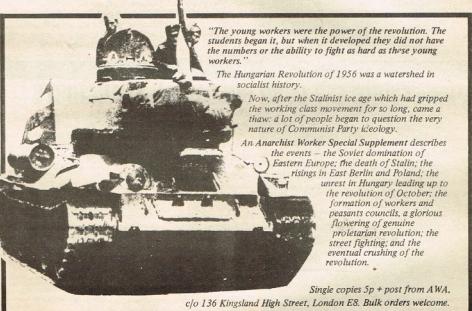
Jim Partial

"The young workers were the power of the revolution. The students began it, but when it developed they did not have the numbers or the ability to fight as hard as these young workers."

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a watershed in socialist history.

Now, after the Stalinist ice age which had gripped the working class movement for so long, came a thaw & a revolution began to question the very nature of Communist Party ideology.

An Anarchist Worker Special Supplement describes the events—the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, the death of Stalin, the rising of the Hungarian workers, the interest in Hungary leading up to the revolution of October; the workers and peasants councils; a glorious flowering of genuine proletarian revolution; the Hungarian revolution and the eventual crushing of the revolution.



Single copies 5p + post from AWA,
c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8. Bulk orders welcome.

DISSECTING THE CNT Upsurge in Spain

The revival of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) on the 4th of May—40,000 strong at that time) is indicative not only of the strength of the libertarian movement in Spain, but also of a real new non-party, non-aligned movement in favour of workers' self-organisation.

The CNT's new credibility through its practice of supporting struggles unconditional and with no strings attached, and through its call for the destruction of the Francoist union structure, its refusal to indulge in class collaboration and its proposals for workers' self-organisation at grass roots level.

It is becoming the main opposition to reformism and the spearhead of the anti-capitalist struggle. From the start at meetings in Barcelona the CNT has a large percentage of young militants (20-30 years old); a great number of whom are women, which gives it a particularly dynamic and altogether without problems.

At the moment an important discussion is going on in the CNT between reformist tendencies, often on a regional level. This has not affected the growing support for the CNT, but will no doubt if the contradictions become more acute.

In the main there are 3 tendencies: 1) The Anarchists—made up of the Federación Anarquista Iberica (traditional anarchists, Frente Libertario, etc.)—which group around an ex-patriate exiles of the same name in France, anarchosyndicalists and libertarians who has grown out of the ideas of 1936 in France, generally anti-syndicalist and "founding". 2) Liberal communists and the tendency for workers autonomy in general.

3) The reformist syndicalists. In Catalonia for example antifascism had reached such a point that an extra-national general meeting of the communists of the general secretary and the regional committee resigned, forcing re-elections. In Andalucia, the ever-growing Catalan CNT is the most important in Spain.

In the Basque Country, in collaboration with the local union (LAB) and some separatists could give the Euskadi CNT a short life. In the regional developments can be found some tendencies which illustrate the complexity of the Spanish situation even within the CNT.

In Central Spain the dominant tendencies are FAI and the syndicalist

communist FAES.

ON THE weekend of Sept 10th and 11th two pickets were held in London to protest against the murder of the Bulgarian ambassador in Bulgaria. The picket on Saturday was held outside the offices of the Bulgarian Tourist Board in Regent St, the one on Sunday outside the Bulgarian Embassy near Gloucester Road.

Bulgaria is one of the most Stalinist of states of Eastern Europe. It is for this reason it is totally subservient to the Kremlin and there is very little internal democracy. This state of affairs has existed since the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 and the Second World War. They took over the workers councils and soldiers militias which the Bulgarians had formed in their struggle against

the fascist clique which had led them into war on the side of Germany. Stalin's Red Army ushered in the most terrible period of the 20th century.

This government suppressed all the opposition currents which had briefly flourished in the struggle against the fascists.

Since the war the political history of Bulgaria is one of unswerving subservience to the Kremlin and the continued persecution of dissidents inside the country.

Chris Cole, a leading militant of the Bulgarian Anarcho-Communist Movement, has spent 11 years in gaol for his attacks on the bureaucracy and the secret police. In 1969 he and other libertarian students were imprisoned for distributing a pamphlet attacking the regime. More recently dissidents have been arrested for

PICKET PROTEST OVER BULGARIAN ANARCHISTS

distributing copies of the Czechoslovak Charter 77.

The pickets were joined by the Spanish Friends of Durutti and attended by members of most libertarian groups i.e. Solidarity, Social Revolution, AWA and Proletarian.

It was a pity that Social Revolution did not support the pickets because it dismisses with the comment that it never had "the importance ascribed to it by some foreign historians. The relative importance of the anarchist movement in Bulgaria is not what

this means, that they weren't part of the leadership?". POCM would have been a good addition to the pickets. If you're interested, contact T. Leslie, 83 Gregory Crescent, SES 69Z. C.M.

Furthermore, Peirats attempts to play down the role of the libertarian groups in the Spanish revolution ends with a note of hope.

"A promising new stage is opening up ahead of us. In the old militancy, still raw for the struggle and contemplating former successes and failures: the young, having been born in the revolution, are supplementing their inexperience with their devastating dynamism and audacity. The new stage of the revitalisation of anarchism in the Iberian Peninsula may herald an anarchist renaissance in Europe and America."

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

IN BRIEF

French president Giscard d'Estaing gave his Cabinet Ministers a period of quiet contemplation before their holidays this summer—don't worry, the swimmers are still there while the photographers are around. The reason—the French people are undergoing a period of severe self-criticism as workers living standards are slashed to pay for the crisis of 1973.

Giscard was worried that if the bulging waistlines of some of his ministers were exposed to public view, it could cause unrest. Leader of the cabinet fatters is Jean-Pierre Chevallier, Minister of the Environment. He's obviously been having a swell time while forcing workers to cut back on essentials.

CNT meeting at San Sebastian: 25,000 people. Photo: Front Libtaire

Review

Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution
Jose Peirats. Black and Red Paperback, 400p, £2.95.

Jose Peirats was an active member of the Federación Anarquista Iberica (FAI) and by developing supply systems for such activities and training select units, he helped to make the anarchist geography Spain is a good terrain for guerrilla warfare, and a well organised guerrilla force would have defeated the Francoists.

Peirats' book is the first time in English, is a welcome addition to the history of the Spanish revolution. It gives in some detail the growth of the Spanish libertarian movement from the last days of the 19th century to the Civil War and a gift that we made to Franco... The war of frontiers in the CNT into the Civil War was a continuous front.

Unfortunately, Peirats has not learnt enough from his own experience and that of the CNT as a whole during the Spanish Revolution. Armistice used guerrilla warfare and the Vietnamese and the Palestinians are still using it. Guerrilla organisation from the last days of the 19th century to the Civil War and a gift that we made to Franco... The war of frontiers in the CNT into the Civil War was a continuous front.

Unfortunately, Peirats has not learnt enough from his own experience and that of the CNT as a whole during the Spanish Revolution.

Guerrillas

He has learnt some things, however, and at times he is able to see things clearly.

For example, he admires the institutionalisation of the war into trench warfare. "The Spanish Anarchists suffered from an excessively urban orientation in their revolutionary or rather, insurrectionary, warfare.

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Hopefully now that the Spanish libertarian movement is re-emerging with a vengeance the mistakes of the past can be learnt from.

Peirats was able to prophesy the renaissance of libertarian socialism in the 1970s and 1980s.

"A promising new stage is opening up ahead of us. In the old militancy, still raw for the struggle and contemplating former successes and failures: the young, having been born in the revolution, are supplementing their inexperience with their devastating dynamism and audacity. The new stage of the revitalisation of anarchism in the Iberian Peninsula may herald an anarchist renaissance in Europe and America."

Anarchist Worker

CUT GRUNWICK OFF!

A YEAR has now passed since the workers at Grunwicks first struck against their reactionary, anti-union employer, George Ward, over conditions and the issue of union recognition.

The struggle continues, though since the decline in the size and combative ness of the daily picket the bourgeois press have been paying the affair much less attention.

No poor suffering members of the Special Patrol Group to present as victims, no media coverage, perhaps.

The Government's plan to defuse the situation by its own Court of Enquiry seems to be at the end of its tether.

Contrary to what some of even the Left press has said, the report only came out in indirectly in favour of the strikers.

Report

The report condemns mass picketing and points the way for the Government to tighten up the law on the workers.

It recommends re-instatement, and that's 'not possible', compensation for the strikers. In effect Scarman has approved of Ward taking on seab iders and not the strikers. The report said that the sailors' jobs now have a higher priority than those of the workers they were brought in to replace. Even more reactionary, it says that Union representation at the factory would be a 'good thing', it at a point makes any clear recommendation to the contrary.

Of course, the Court of Enquiry was a Government manoeuvre from the start. It was set up to defuse its report. Ward has said in the past that he would rather close the factory than take any of the strikers back. He and his 'right' wing of the Tory Right, the National Association For Freedom, have said that they won't be bound by the decisions of the Court of Enquiry. They will go to the Law Courts, and it looks as if the legal battle between Ward and the Government's Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Association will go to the House of Lords and take ages.

Election

Of course the militant Strike Committee and the union involved, APEX, want a speedy end to the dispute. If Ward refuses to accept a Scarman report, or refuses to negotiate, then the militant leadership of the labour movement will have to be mobilised. The Trades Union Congress will be told of the situation and asked

to make a statement.

So what kind of Tory government will we get?

We know that Robert Mugabe, leading the N.A.F.F. has written

speeches for her, and that she has

had social contacts with N.A.F.F. members and their groups.

We know that the right wing of such parties as Labour and Moss do influence the Tories. I think that Joseph in his remarks was just reflecting his supporters aware of his position. The N.A.F.F. does

appeal to the sort of people who read the *Daily Mail* or *Express*, the reactionary petit-bourgeoisie.

Attacks

Essentially the Tories have moved to the right since the days of Heath and we should all remember that he fought the unions over the Industrial Miners Strike in 1974. However, though Thatcher is definitely moving to the right of the strong re-establishment of reactionary

cultural and social ideas, she may

have learnt some of the lessons of Heath's period in power.

I think that at the moment Sir Keith and the Independents are probably away from sensitive

ministries such as Employment when in power.

Nevertheless we must be ready to face a vicious attack on working-class living standards if the Tories do come in. In particular, any Tory government would almost certainly launch an attack on the 'social wage' i.e. the provision of education, housing, health care etc.

A Tory government is likely to move to the right as far as we must be ready to fight. Sir Keith Joseph's support for George Ward is only one hint of the kind of conditions that might prevail in the struggle in a year's time. L.C.

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Anarchist Worker

SPECIAL EDITION

Stop the Dublin hangings

DEMONSTRATE TO SAVE THE MURRAYS
Saturday July 24th 10am
IRISH EMBASSY GROSVENOR PLACE SW1

DONATIONS ESSENTIAL!

Show Trial and Torture in Dublin

TWO ANARCHISTS — Marie and Noel Murray — were condemned to death without a proper trial in Dublin last May.

The frame-up and subsequent decision of the years of violent repression by the Eire state.

Since the passing of the *Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act* two years ago, state repression has been escalating at a horrifying rate.

Today, torture, phone tapping and the use of troops to smash major strikes is a normal part of political life in the Republic.

There is nothing subtle or undercover about the repression: politicians of the three main political parties all openly proclaim their intention to take a "tough line" on the question of law and order.

LAW

The ultimate legal weapon of the state is the *Special Criminal Court*. This was set up specially to deal with political cases and goes on the basis that a defendant is guilty until proven innocent.

For example, a senior police officer need only state that a person is in the IRA and their conviction becomes a foregone conclusion.

There is no jury in the Special Criminal Court, which is presided over by a three-man tribunal of judges.

The judges are appointed on the basis of their political loyalties. The minimum qualification necessary is seven years' service in the legal profession OR the person is a "Heresy" and uncircumstantiated stories are more than ample for securing a conviction.

In the words of one of the court's "to get the 'trial' over as quickly as possible and with the minimum of fuss."

It was this type of Kangaroo Court which was used to frame the Murrys and will be used against Ronan Stenson... if he ever recovers.

ORDER

Order is administered by police thugs — the Gardai — who act on the basis of "kick first and ask questions later". Literally anyone can be dragged from their bed, or lifted off the floor and interrogated with their enquiries.

They can be held without charge for up to 72 hours — and immediately re-arrested after that period expires.

Physical torture is the rule rather than the exception in these secret detentions and can be kept without food, water or sleep for hours, even days on end.

It is accepted that the police would go to the extent of killing a man.

The decision to hang Noel and Marie Murray comes as the latest stage of the escalating repression; it will be the first hanging in Eire for twenty-two years.

WE MUST FIGHT TO SAVE THE MURRAYS!
WE MUST ALL OPPOSE OPPRESSION IN EIRE!

EVERY PENNY COUNTS

This *Anarchist Worker* Special on the Murrys was produced collectively by people from Bradford, Dublin, Liverpool and London who are members of their local Murray Defence Committees. Support in the form of money is especially welcome — you can send it either to your nearest Defence Committee or

MURRAYS TO HANG ?



WORRIED

The gardai were increasingly worried about the activities of the Dublin anarchists.

They suspected that a section of the movement was responsible for a series of attacks on the gardai. Dick Kean, Columba Longmore and Michael Cullen were already in Curagh Military Prison in connection with a permanent bombing of a Spanish Institute.

They can make up your own mind as to whether the police were really interested in suppressing criminal activity or preventing the Murrys from spending their "ill-gotten gains" to advance the working class struggle. Police harassment successfully.

HOW THE POLICE FRAMED THE MURRAYS



Defence Groups

DUBLIN:
155, Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare

GLASGOW:
163, Great George Street (Tel: 336 7895 evenings)

LONDON:
c/o 83a Haverstock Hill, NW3

MANCHESTER:
c/o Grassroots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester 1

PARIS:
c/o 177 rue de Charonne (safe Agency)

direct to us and we will make sure it goes where there is the biggest need. **EVERY PENNY COUNTS!** Please make contributions to AWA, c/o 136 Kingland High Street London E8 2NS, making all cheques/P.O's payable to AWA General Fund.

THEIR'S NO TIME TO LOSE!

thwarted the establishment of a new anarchist newspaper.

Of course, politically motivated harassment was not confined to the adventurist section of the anarchist movement. The same tactics were administered across the whole left spectrum.

In short, repression is increasingly the rule in Eire and it came as no surprise to Dubliners when the death of Garda Reynolds was followed by the upsurge of protest.

In this case, approximately two hundred raids were conducted, on known activists and even their friends and relatives.

TORTURE

The 'interrogations' or these people consisted of beatings, payoffs, threats of execution and 'longshank' style techniques.

One citizen who 'helped' the police with their enquiries sustained several bruises and another was hospitalized for two weeks.

Independent medical reports have confirmed these facts.

SHOW TRIAL

The Murays and Stenson were duly charged and sent before the Special Criminal Court.

The entire prosecution case rested on the 'confessions'; other evidence and the statements of prosecution witnesses were vague and contradictory.

The Chief Justice, Pringle, stated that there was no evidence to suggest that the statements were true. The court, however, was not so sure. The Murays had since dislocated their ankles and the court 'requested' that the press should not report on the admissibility of the statements as evidence.

When the press refused to comply they were charged with contempt of court.

Murphy refused to co-operate in this farce and such was their disarray that the trials refused to listen to their requests for a fair, unbiased trial. Instead, they refused to instruct their council.

So for a large part of the trial the Murays were 'unrepresented' and undefended.

This sole reason for picking up Ronan seems to be his political work as a member of the Prisoners Rights Organisation.

Ronan was beaten with a hammer and whipped with a knotted nylon rope. This is the 'normal' method of first beatings, humiliation and intimidation.

When some sort of statement had been逼迫ed out of him he was sent to Carginagh Military Prison where the army doctor examined him and found extensive bruising on various parts of his body.

He was refused an independent medical examination.

Such was the psychological effect on Ronan that he was on the precipice of a complete nervous breakdown.

The trial went along its predestined course and after six weeks Noel and Ronan were found guilty and sentenced to 10 years.

They were refused the right to appeal, but have since appealed this initial decision.

This appeal was due to be heard on July 29.

PREJUDGED

There have been security leaks which confirm the impression that the BBC know that the verdict will be guilty before the trial has officially decided.

When asked if a British hangman had been appointed even before the trial started.

Apparently, no Irishman would do the job.

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SMASHING THE LEFT

There can be no doubt that the passing of the death sentence on the Murays is an obvious political move by the Irish Government.

They were known as anarchists and Noel had previously jumped bail when charged with the possession of various articles against the Spanish Institute in Dublin.

Irishmen are a country where repression is building up at a steady rate.

As examples of this is the arrest and torture of the entire Republican Socialist Party and the continual strike of revolutionaries.

They also have been common in Ireland with the being offered any alternative accomodation. The Army has been used to break major strikes in power and transport.

Homeless families who squat are often with their being offered any alternative accomodation. The Army has been used to break major strikes in power and transport.

Whereas in the past the most radical workers and small farmers used to be able to earn a living, the present slump has meant that there is nowhere to go.

The authorities fully realise the revolutionary potential of the working class and do not, as their protégés would have us believe, politicise working people - rather they create a

rift between working people and revolutionary politics, leading to impotence through lack of mass support.

b) Exploring this rift the State can justify - often without the knowledge of the masses - a series of repressive measures, allowing increased police harassment of revolutionaries active in the class struggle and thus helping to smother the spread of libertarian communist ideas.

c) The AWA believes that violence aimed at the overthrow of the State can only arise within the context of a mass-based revolutionary struggle. The need to smash the revolutionaries and the assault by the dispossessed capitalist class will then be widely understood and applied by the proletariat.

Published by the Anarchist Workers Association, 131 Colman Street, Hull. Typeset by Bread 'n' Roses 100: (011) 552 8249 & 624 8712. Printed by Blackrose Press (TUI), 136 Bury Road, Leeds 4. tel: (0532) 440093.

breakdown.

He had been on trial for some time, however, before the authorities decided that he was in no fit state to hear the trial.

He agreed to be "tense, extremely agitated and showing signs of panic proportions".

His barrister informed us that Ronan had been beaten and tortured to relate how the police treated him.

Noel and Marie were interrogated for 17 hours and 10 minutes to 'cool' them down.

In the course of the 'interrogation' Marie was put in the cell next to Noel where she could hear him being beaten and tortured, with his head forced into the lavatory.

The police told her that he would be killed.

She had every reason to believe them; so she made a statement to save his life.

As far as we know, the beatings did not stop.

No medical examinations were allowed and the Murays had made their statements, which 'roughly agreed'.

DON'T SIT ABOUT - DO SOMETHING

There can be no doubt that this was a political trial - whether the Murays are guilty or not.

Those who oppose oppression and injustice in any form must make their protest known.

There is no time to lose and political action must be taken in Ireland and elsewhere may mean the difference between life and death.

Whether you're on your own, a

THE BRITISH CONNECTION

AS is well-known, the British Government has been putting diplomatic pressure on the Eirean Government to pass various measures against the IRA.

However, many TD's (Irish MPs) were reluctant to pass the Offences Against the State and Emergency Act and establish the Special Criminal Court, which framed the Murays.

At a crucial point during the controversy there were two separate explosions in Dublin, killing two people.

This is because the Government feels they can 'make an example' out of the Murays without there being a major outcry.

Our task is to turn the present moment into just that outcry.

It has since been revealed that the bombs were planted by the SAS - the counter-emergency unit of the British Army, who are responsible directly to Whitchall.

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